

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 OES-07 NSF-01 CU-02 IO-13 /081 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 844

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 4976

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, PORT, APER, SP  
SUBJECT: ORGANIZING FOR MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

REF: STATE 48782

1. WE BELIEVE THIS IS A PARTICULARLY GOOD YEAR FOR AN  
EXPANDED MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS EFFORT WITH SPAIN:

-- THE US-SPAIN TREATY PROVIDES A FRAMEWORK,  
AS WELL AS A SPECIFIC COMMITMENT TO BROAD CONSULTATIONS,  
WHICH SHOULD BE USEFUL FOR MULTILATERAL AS WELL AS  
BILATERAL MATTERS:

-- POST-FRANCO, POST-ELECTIONS SPAIN IS HIGHLY CONSCIOUS  
OF ITS ENHANCED INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY, AND HAS HOPES  
OF EXPANDING ITS INTERNATIONAL ROLE. CLOSER, MORE MEANINGFUL  
CONSULTATIONS WILL PROVIDE US OPPORTUNITIES TO HELP INFLUENCE  
THE DEFINITION OF THAT ROLE IN CONSTRUCTIVE DIRECTIONS.

-- CONTINUING CONSULTATIONS (AS DISTINCT FROM LAST-MINUTE  
REQUESTS FOR SUPPORT) COULD BE USEFUL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE  
ISSUE OF POSSIBLE EVENTUAL SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, SINCE THEY  
WOULD BE AN ADVANCE HINT OF THE KIND OF PARTICIPATION SPAIN  
COULD ENJOY IN NATO POLITICAL COUNCILS.

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-- AS THE ONLY MAJOR COUNTRY IN EUROPE NOT COMMITTED  
TO ANY BLOC IN EUROPEAN-WIDE CONSULTATIONS SUCH AS CSCE  
(IT IS ASSIGNED IN CSCE TO THE "OUTSIDE FOUR"), AND WITH A  
STRONG MEDITERRANEAN VOCATION, SPAIN'S POSTURE CAN BE OF  
IMPORTANCE TO US INTERESTS IN THIS ARENA.

2. THE TIMING ALSO APPEARS TO BE GOOD BECAUSE ONE OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE PAST HAS BEEN THE CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE ALLOWED THE SPANISH UN MISSION. A KEY FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL HAS TOLD US FLATLY THAT THE MINISTRY INTENDS TO SEE TO IT THAT UN ISSUES ARE GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION IN ADVANCE, AND ON THE BASIS OF OVERALL NATIONAL INTEREST. IF THE EXERCISE AIMS AT TRIMMING THE AUTHORITY OF SPAIN'S FREE-WHEELING PERMREP, IT ALSO MEANS THAT TIMELY CONSULTATIONS HERE SHOULD HAVE A GREATER CHANCE OF IMPACT.

3. SPAIN'S SEARCH FOR A GREATER INTERNATIONAL ROLE SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF SHIFTS IN THE SPANISH POSITION ON THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, AND SOME MAY WELL OCCUR. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, WE EXPECT LITTLE IN THE WAY OF IMPORTANT CHANGE; EUROPE, THE ATLANTIC, LATIN AMERICA, THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE ARAB COUNTRIES, AND THE THIRD WORLD ARE THE SOMETIMES OVERLAPPING, SOMETIMES CONFLICTING REGIONS AND CONCEPTS IDENTIFIED AS THE PRINCIPAL FOCAL POINTS OF SPANISH DIPLOMACY. WE ANTICIPATE THAT A GENERAL TENDENCY TO STRADDLE WILL BE APPARENT IN SPANISH POSITIONS ON A GREAT MANY ISSUES, AS ITS NATURAL IDENTIFICATION WITH THE NORTH AND THE WEST IS COUNTERBALANCED BY ITS DIPLOMATIC ASPIRATIONS, LEAVING IT SUSCEPTIBLE TO PRESSURE FROM THE SOUTH (AND THEREBY, OCCASIONALLY AND TO A MUCH LESSER DEGREE, THE SOVIET EAST).

4. POSSIBLE EXAMPLES EXIST AMONG THE ADDITIONAL KEY ISSUES  
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MENTIONED REFTEL. SPAIN'S IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD WILL MAKE IT MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT WE EXPECT THAT SPAIN WILL NOT BACK MEASURES DEEMED OFFENSIVE TO ITS "SISTER COUNTRIES" IN LATIN AMERICA. SPAIN WILL BE SYMPATHETIC TO MANY OF OUR CONCERNS REGARDING UN INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, BUT WE DOUBT IT WILL WISH TO GET CROSS-WISE WITH THE LATINS, OR THE ARABS. OR MORE BROADLY, THE THIRD WORLD.

5. IN SUM, WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT AN EXPANDED EFFORT HERE WILL RADICALLY TRANSFORM SPAIN'S OFTEN DISAPPOINTING VOTING RECORD IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS. WE DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT A SERIOUS PROGRAM OF CONSULTATION, ALLOWING TIME FOR US CONSIDERATION OF SPANISH VIEWS BEFORE OUR FINAL POSITIONS ARE SET, COULD PAY DIVIDENDS ON BOTH THE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL PLANES. WE ARE NOW IN A PERIOD WHEN SPAIN IS IN THE PROCESS OF SORTING OUT ITS POSITION ON SUCH SPECIFIC MATTERS AS POSSIBLE MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, AND ON SO BROAD A QUESTION AS WHAT DEMOCRATIC SPAIN'S ROLE IN THE WORLD IS TO BE. STABLER

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## Message Attributes

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